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Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas.

Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas.

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk, Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

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the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

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speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions.

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now--they even have different words now for some things.

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is striking to me, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my present preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

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197 concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would •144 seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

181 **Peaceably Inclined.** The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

000 **Highly Civilized.** Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

342 The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

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these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

"Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

"They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.)

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night.

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142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others [302] refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

●144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders, are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144●

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part